/388 cont./

342 and finish, but is smaller. This separate hut for the children is
593 usually built because of lack of space in the large hut, and it is
•855 always regarded as a necessary expedient, for parents do not like to be separated from their children unless it is absolutely necessary. Although the children may by themselves several hours of the day and all night, they nevertheless like to be with their family a great deal, and they always have access to the large hut. An older woman takes charge of the small company and sometimes brings them a little food, but more often the children get their food from their own parents.

In exceptional cases, for instance, the illness of an older person, imminent confinement of the mother, and so forth, even the single family builds a separate hut for the children beside the one for the adults, much as they dislike to do so. This children's hut is an expedient, and the parents by no means decide on it because they do not wish to be disturbed by crying and noise, for Indian children as such are gentle and quiet.

342 Finally, if several families camp a few days in the same
857 spot, the children as a game build a little hut with their own hands beside the dwellings of their parents. After all, they must occasionally give vent to their energies. The understanding parents willingly support them in this, sometimes bringing the children meat and approvingly watching the happy gathering. This children's hut is called Skili. /389/ It is obvious and understandable that it cannot be an actual dwelling, but serves merely for the enjoyment and playful occupation of the little band (44).

44. This unequivocal appraisal of the so-called children's hut is absent in what Hyades (q):342 and Bridges (a) :183 write about it. The latter is more ambiguous than the former.

342 If one stands in front of an Indian hut as a European judge,
511 no matter which type of hut it is, one involuntarily asks himself: What protection does this poor makeshift afford? By nature our natives are extremely undemanding. If one would like definite proof of this, he need only observe them in their dwelling. If they have a little protection from the heaviest rainfall and the densest snowstorm, against the bitterest cold and the most

/408 cont./

As long as they are still dependent on the special care of their mothers, they crawl about naked. When they begin to walk by themselves, they get the back-cape which they wear or take off according to their mood or fancy. /Fig. 18 appears here./ It serves them also as "cover" when they sleep at night. Somewhat later, at the age of four, the girl gets her mokhôfa, mêlêgêna, the triangular modesty-apron, which henceforth she must not remove. All the women see to it that the child in its innocence does not expose itself. The size of the child's body

Fig. 18. Modesty-Apron for Girls.
Two-thirds natural size.

determines the proportions of this pubic covering (Fig. 18). Boys do not wear this covering until they are ten years old or older; it is left to the discretion of parents or relatives. They feel that it is not necessary for boys to wear a modesty-apron, since old men also sometimes omit it, but when they begin to mature physically, boys no longer appear without it in the company of adults.

It is the task of the mother to make the simple, modest articles of clothing for their children. This does not require particular effort, and yet many a woman idly watches her child run about in a shabby, torn little cloak for a long time before she replaces the useless, soiled piece with a better one. Children

1: Gambe--459 S-0 (1918-1924) 1927 [illegible]

462 /873 cont./

115.1869, Fitz-Roy (s):185, Furlong (b):132, Goldwasa (b):188, Hyades (p):36 and (q):220, Lima (b):47, Oscar (p):57, Webster:2, 182, Wrighandt:44, and others.

The following, which briefly wrote in March, 1864, may serve as an example: "The men build the canoes, make the paddles, spears, etc. and sit in the canoes ever ready to use them. Bows and arrows, and snares for birds, they likewise make. The wigwam is the work of their hands, and every bit of wood, which feeds their perpetual fires, is gathered, and carried by the male section of the community" /cited in English/. Fitz-Roy (s):185 had made similar observations earlier.

B. Activity of the Woman

462 855 The actual duties of motherhood take up most of her time and are primary in the daily work of the Indian women, in accordance with her physical and spiritual make-up. Every woman is blessed with several children who, almost without exception, remain in the parental hut until they are old enough to marry. She alone takes complete care of each of her children until it is three or four years old. After that the boys are chiefly entrusted to their father, while the mother continues to direct the girls. She gladly performs the great amount of manual work required by an infant, and she alone provides what is required for its care. In her happiness as a mother she is never separated from her youngest child, and she drags it about with her everywhere, although this makes her other work much more difficult.

462 Besides watching and tending the smallest children, she also performs special services for the family. She sews the pieces that are used for clothing for all the members of the family and for the most part also arranges their sleeping places. Although everyone helps himself when he is hungry to whatever is on hand, she nevertheless usually anticipates the wishes of the individual

/1546 cont./

1. Delight in the Child

[193] We must say without qualification that the Yezeeds of all ages and of both sexes are extremely fond of children. The child is so unconceivably a part of marriage that a newly wedded couple awaits the first fruit of their mutual love with longing. As long as a child has not been granted them, they feel as though they have nothing to do and do not know how to fill out the day properly. The young woman, far more than the man, feels an oppressive emptiness and a great gap which must be filled, the sooner the better. This mental state was described by Weiser in the following brief words: /193/ "Soon after the wedding the couple become bored, for they lack children of their own to keep them busy. That is why the young woman, in order to ease her loneliness, visits her parents longer and oftener than her husband likes. He therefore waits patiently until the first child arrives. After that his wife stays with him in their own hut (193)."

[194] 193. This is the chief reason why some young married couples often live with the parents of one of them before they establish their own household (p. 434).

Gertie, who had no offspring herself, confessed to me: "Until their first child appears, time is often unbearably long for the young couple. You can imagine what I suffer who have lost all hope for a child of my own!" In former times it was extremely rare that a marriage was barren. Such a married couple is very much pitied by the neighborhood. They try to cover their loss by temporarily taking into their hut and caring for a few children from among their relatives or acquaintances. Old people seem to be particularly dependent on the company of the little ones. Actually they are the most enjoyable entertainment and the jolliest diversion for all the adults. They tease each other and play freely and without restraint, as though the children were accommodating and ardently desired playthings. The natural open-heartedness with which old women tenderly fondled and affectionately caressed any child, especially

/5316 cont./

their own favorite, seemed to me much more direct and spontaneous among these Fuegians, and hence more impressive, than among mothers in Europe.

As a result of their own love for the child, we can understand why our Indians quickly gain confidence in all Europeans who show themselves kindly disposed toward their children. How quickly Snow (a):I, 369 realized this and took advantage of it for the safety of his own person! He writes: "They were very fond of their children, and any notice we took of the little ones always gave them pleasure. This I observed on my first visit; and it was, in addition to fireworks in my lesser case-pistol, one of the means I was prepared to use, had there been occasion when I went alone amongst them. A child in my arms was, I considered, a guard against any sudden attack upon me, if they loved their offspring as most savages either do" /Added in English/(108). Anyone wishing to win

> 108. Phillips III, on his very first encounter with these natives on October 22, 1833, on Lennox Island, made the same observation: "The women were greatly pleased with the notice I took of their children, and kept appealing for something for the 'piccanini'" /Added in English/.

the favor of the adults need only show himself tender and loving toward their children. How often have they themselves held up their youngest toward the white strangers to beg for presents. They valued whatever was done for the child more highly than if it had been done for themselves. Snow (a):I, 326 may again serve as a witness. In Banner Cove he saw /5316/ the first natives coming toward him in a canoe. A younger woman was among them. "She had a baby at the breast; and frequently, with a winning smile and plaintive voice, asked, by the oft repeated words, Yamana Scoona! for something for the yamma ninne. Mrs. Snow gave her many little presents, for which she returned grateful smiles and Cottacutta (apparently: many thanks) over and over again. Her attachment to the child was evident; and what was given to the child she showed she understood was for that purpose by putting it

1: Gusinde--487 E-0 (1918-1924) 1937 SHE Tolgan SHE

/636 cont./

immediately around us each, or about its parent" /cited in English/ (109). Later, after they had become sufficiently convinced

> 109. Snow (b):282 was so impressed by the love of children shown by these Fuegian mothers that he again speaks of his experiences and calls it unjust toward the parents that the missionaries wanted to take a few children for training to Isla Keppel. "One of the women had a baby with her, and there was something most winning in her manner when she asked us to give her child some present. She was much attached to her babe, even as I found all of the Fuegian mothers were, and I feel certain that to attempt taking those younger children away on any pretence whatever is wrong in the extreme... They are very fond of their children" /cited in English/.

of the kindliness of the missionaries for their children, a few families finally decided to entrust them with their darlings for a short time (p. 210 /untranslated/). Today Yamana children are much more suspicious of even the most well-intentioned Whites than I observed the children of the Selk'nam (110) to be, because they have had

> 110. On my first journey I effortlessly gained the confidence of the Selk'nam by way of the hearts of their children. See Gusinde (f):164 and (dd):78.

many sad experiences.

842 Now it will no longer be surprising to learn -- corresponding exactly to the ideas above -- that a married couple is envied because of their large flock of children. As each individual child provides great joy for the married couple, their happiness and satisfaction increase with the number of their offspring. "The more children, the more entertainment and variety in the hut on the long evenings," Walter confessed to me in a moment of deep sorrow when his youngest girl, who, with her slightly older brother, was what remained of eleven children, fell seriously ill. I often heard

L. Gusinde--499 E-6 (1919-1956) 1957 USE Yahgan USE

/196 cont./

162 variation of this exclamation: "How fortunate Felipe and Elisa are, for all their [six] children are still living and occupying their hut." There is no other family of the few that are left who can show so many living offspring.

155 Naturally, each one of the children is an object of special attention for the parents and all the adults. This is best evident in the fact that they keep the child physically clean than in their tireless vigilance and in all kinds of demonstrations of love (111).

> 111. Bridges (i):21 confirms this: "Generally the children were tenderly cared for by their parents and friends, and concessions of every kind expressed in order to please the parents" /friend in English/.

They are not happy if a child is absent from the hut for long hours and they do not know where he is, but quite in /197/ contrast to European mothers, they remain completely calm no matter how long the child is absent if they do know where he is staying or where he went, on foot or in the canoe. They are beside themselves, however, if they have to wait for the child for beyond a fixed time. Once, late at night, I saw old Pedro and his wife get up and prepare to drag their canoe into the water. Someone had just reported to them that their seven-year-old daughter had gone on foot with some other girls to a distant inlet and that they had not returned. Although the neighbors, some of whose children were also absent, tried to reassure the old man, they could not hold him back. He rowed a great distance along Beagle Channel until, after a search, he found his daughter. Finally, early in the morning, they were all united in his hut, along with the other children (see Gusinde [c]:164). In order to appreciate this effort we must remember that a family ventures out on the water at night only in the greatest emergency.

Very often and lovingly parents fondle and play with an infant or an older child. They let them have particularly delectable tidbits, call their attention to rare phenomena in the environment, decorate them with ornaments of all kinds, and often paint their faces for sheer pleasure (112). Again and again the adults busy

112. As Bridges (i):22 and (h):208 reports,

1: Gratuito--409 E-6 (1810-1856) 1957 0000 Telegen 0000

/187 cont./

185 "girls and boys were by their good parents often taken with a profusion of native necklaces of beans or shells and their faces painted as attractively as possible" /cited in English/.

themselves with the children, or, as Hymes (4) 364 expresses it: "The parents love their children and occupy themselves with them" /rebaixtd from French/. Anyone who is not busy with something else is happiest when he is spending his time playfully with a child. Parents are also, of course, extremely receptive toward any attention and kindness shown their child by neighbors. I have observed that every adult, women more than men, displays much tenderness and affection toward another person's child, without discrimination. If, however, a boy should be a public nuisance because of his naughtiness, he is severely reprimanded and disciplined by everybody alike. In any case, the behavior of adults toward children is quite uniform. Judging from this behavior alone, a European observer will mistake a woman for the mother of a child when she is not even a relative. All the good things, even merely a friendly smile, given by a European are valued no less highly by the parents when bestowed upon their child (p. 468). Fitz-Roy (4) 188, too, noted: "Both men and women are remarkably fond of the little children, and were always much pleased at any notice taken of them by our parties, when they felt sufficient confidence in us to bring the children forward" /cited in English/.

123 185 /186/ By nature the Yamana children of today are not as open-hearted and uninhibited as the Selk'nam children. I was very much aware of the difference on my journeys. I explain it on the basis of the disposition of our Fuegian group and their greater taciturnity. Nevertheless I succeeded in amusing myself with these little creatures most entertainingly and also in pleasing them. Old Alfredo who often saw me amid a group of gay young people simply could not understand why, at my advanced age, I was not yet married. When I discussed it with him, he asked me the unexpected question: "And among your own people can you also romp about with the children as you do here with us?" Not only he, but other people as well found it a great satisfaction that I so much enjoyed playing and frolicking with their little darlings. Thus, there was a repetition of what earlier travelers, such as Snow and Fitz-Roy, had observed.

I. Gamble--GIS 0-0 (1810-1898) 1957 1998 Religion 1998

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153 Later we shall show that quite generally Yungian families have many children, but it can scarcely be imagined how much every mother and father suffer at the death of a child. They feel the bitterest sorrow and do not recover from this loss for the rest of their lives. They destroy absolutely everything that might remind them of their lost darling, even if he was only a few months old. They never repeat his name, so as not to be reminded of the gap left by relentless death (115). The mother addresses urgent pleas

> 115. Hyades (g) 38 reports: "The loss of children is commonly felt very deeply, and not infrequently the Frenchi [of the Iduina Scientifique] saw the features of the savages shead over and the women even have less tears and lamentations if there was a chance reference to such a death."

to Hainuwele, the Tamanna deity, to make her sick darling well, and she indulges in bitter reproaches against him if, in spite of her pleas, he tears the child away from her by death. The mother's lamentations over her lost darling never cease. Waiwai's wife, of whose eleven children only two are still living, watches over her frail daughter who is about five years old with almost pathological anxiety, in order not to lose her, too. All the women speak pityingly of her, for they see with what anxiety and apprehension she clings to this youngest child, ill though to a last refuge.

•155 For all parents many healthy, lively, and obedient children are not only an extraordinary satisfaction, but far beyond that also a justifiable pride (116). They stir up fresh life in the entire

> 116. Bridges (1) 31 says only: "The mothers were always proud to tell how many children they had" /cited in English/. The fathers do the same.

neighborhood, and every adult delights in their enthusiastic play. They offer the women, who like to assemble in the hut of the happy parents, tireless entertainment during the long evening /199/ hours. Many a woman grows sick at heart if she remembers her own

[illegible]

[illegible] children whom death has taken away. A woman is ashamed if complains, however indirect, much her shame her discontent enemy, and a woman says feel something like jealousy when it seems as though the offspring of another woman are the only ones possessing all the good traits. No one blames the father, in good self-control, he measures his manly love and protection of his qualities to the other ones in expectation of greater achievements later on.

Who could therefore doubt that persons in Timne did not enjoy always were still more children? Even if their number increased from year to year, the parents never like of additional offspring, who hardly increase their worry and their work perceptibly, but augment their happiness considerably. A large brood of children get but meet a noticeable burden because the older brothers and sisters like to help take care of their younger brothers and sisters. Only women go through difficult times struggles when, with the menopause, they are no longer blessed with children. This is all the more the case if they do not have many offspring.

Nevertheless, voluntary abortion is practiced, but as Lawrence emphatically assured me in August, 1933, only very rarely and secretly by the women herself. She resorts to it as a means of avoiding imminent disgrace when she has had a secret affair with a lover and does not wish her lawful husband to learn of her transgression. Moreover, there must be certainty that she becomes pregnant only by the lover, which can almost never be determined under the existing conditions. When I inquired about this for the first time in February, 1933, I obtained the following from my conversation with several men who were gathered around old Alfonda and who agreed with his opinion: "It seems that in rare cases a woman did get rid of her child and it was the child of her lover. She did so because she was afraid of being exposed and reprimanded by her lawful husband." What seemed at that time to be only a supposition on my part became a qualified possibility on my fourth journey.

Now, how does a woman go about this unfortunate deed? Before the child under her heart has reached a certain size so that her condition could be recognized, the presses and massages her abdomen vigorously until the embryo dies and she has a miscarriage (113).

113.Haln (a):805 also mentions this method.

/700 cont./

847 who died after the third miscarriage, and likewise of Felipe's wife, who complained to me that she had had two premature births. Malicious women unjustifiably reproach these two, saying that they had consciously overpressed. Hence it is certain that willful abortion, which is undertaken secretly by a woman, is extremely rare. Abortive medicines from the animal and vegetable kingdom are unknown.

•855 Love for their own child guides the parents in everything they regard as good and advantageous for it. Many customs and individual child-rearing methods have developed from long experience; they are a safe rule of conduct for the parents in the care and treatment of their darlings. To deviate from them is prohibited by the respect they steadfastly cherish for the ancient tribal heritage handed down by their ancestors.

2. Birth

842 Our Yamana regard giving birth as a natural function, but in their conversation they treat this matter with genteel reserve. The connection between sexual intercourse and conception is sufficiently clear to them. They could not refrain from laughing when we mentioned to them that there were some groups of human beings to whom these facts were apparently not known. If one asks them specifically about the origin of the child, they refer solely to the union of the two /701/ spouses and say that with their sexual union the child begins to form in the mother's belly, that it continues to grow until it has attained the customary size, and that then it becomes an independent being. They limit this explanation to the development of the body. When I asked Calderon about the soul of the child, he 842 did not give me a clear answer, for in general these Fuegians are 714 rather vague about the conception of the human soul. He said: "When the child is born, it has its kēlpix, for, after all, it is alive. But who knows where this comes from!" With Nelly I talked about this repeatedly in Fred Lawrence's presence; I came to the conclusion that the Yamana lack clear ideas about the origin of the soul in the developing child.

843 The Yamana women do not understand the direct connection between the cessation of menstruation and the beginning of pregnancy.

/735 cont./

854 and asks one or the other of these soft-bodied animals: "Give /736/ me the best you have for this tooth!" The child may also cast his other milk teeth into the sea in the same way, but he is obliged to do so only with the first loose milk teeth.

•855 During the further development manifested by the child, not
857 only his own parents, but to an almost equal extent the relatives and neighbors experience great satisfaction. Again and again they speak about it and happily measure the progress shown by the child since last they were together. In their indescribable happiness, they adorn their favorite with necklaces, give him tasty morsels, sometimes pet him wildly, and spend hours playing with him. The adults in Tierra del Fuego would find life unbearable if they did not constantly have small children around them, who, far more than grown children, are a natural and necessary plaything for all parents and a strong magnet for their parental feelings (177).

[71] 177. I have purposely not mentioned similarities of insignificant details in infant care among the Selk'nam and Yamana, because there are too many. The close cultural relationship between the two tribes is shown in this respect also.

b. The Older Child and His Upbringing

861 With the exception of a few letters from Anglican missionaries, one looks in vain in the earlier accounts for detailed reports about the physical maturation of the child and the influence of the adults in his environment who train him. This is all the more regrettable since these much misunderstood Fuegians have surprisingly valuable child-rearing principles -- taking into consideration merely what I myself have discovered -- and, as competent teachers, know how to apply these principles successfully. The older people have preserved in their memories all that our Yamana do for the growing generation, or at least the principal outline, to this day. Hence the following account

/730 cont./

573 self-sufficiency. Actually, each one goes his own way, completely unconcerned about the others. It makes no difference to him how his brothers and sisters get along and what they do.

[857] Older girls, however, at their mother's request, must tend the youngest of their brothers and sisters occasionally. They do so, but more because they are forced to than because of a natural urge, and they are relieved when this minor duty is over. Beyond that one almost never sees brothers and sisters of their own accord helping or supporting each other. They are, so to speak, indifferent toward one another; in fact, they even go out of their way in order to be quite undisturbed. Hence it follows that they almost never quarrel or fight with one another. A child would never voluntarily help a brother or small sister at work or join them in some chore imposed by the parents. If two children are given the same job, they do not, for example, agree to do it together, but each one strikes out for himself toward the same goal. Thus two girls going to hunt berries and two boys out to gather dry sticks go off separately and in different directions. On their return they do not meet on the same path until shortly before they reach the hut.

One never hears parents reminding children that they must love their brothers and sisters. If occasionally adult brothers and sisters stand up for each other and defend one another it is out of a feeling of family solidarity. The mother carefully ar-

[513] ranges the sleeping place of her boys separately from that of the girls in the small family hut (179). In the canoe they are

179. Hyades (f):573 says emphatically: "During the night the boys and the girls form separate groups according to sex" /translated from French/. A separate allotment of space in the hut for each child is unknown to the Yamana (p. 26).

separated on either side of the fire. Altogether, brothers and sisters are separated more than many Europeans realize, but even so they forgo any co-operation in work or play.